582 612 /22 cont./ to which the parent-child relationship counts as one degree; brothers are therefore related in the second degree, and cousins /neven, French cousin/ in the fourth degree, and so on.

582 583 If one pursues the reasons why these 10 married outside their related group, it appears that in 5 cases the marriage occurred after the couple had carried out silariang (2). In

2. A marriage by flight. For details of this, see Chapter III, third part.

this case the individuals concerned do not pay any attention to the existence of kin group ties. In the 5 other cases, the reason always given was that the strangers belonged to groups of relatives with which /23/ the older generation who brought about the marriages gladly entered into marriage ties in view of their social standing. 557 582

In 2 of these 5 cases, a female member of the related group married a stranger. In the other 3 cases, a man married a girl from outside. In the chapter on status we shall return to the marriage policy carried out by the older people. At present it is only necessary to point out that no special preference to marry either a boy or a girl outside the related group can be indicated, but rather that closer attention is paid with a girl than with a boy that she does not marry someone who is regarded to be even a trifle below her in standing.

582 The statement that the related group is endogamous signifies, therefore, that marriages are by preference contracted between kinsmen, but it says nothing further concerning the kinship connections which are regarded as important in this

186 /61 cont./ but the majority are only interested in owning
563 land back in the homeland.

Language and common residence strengthen, at least for the time being, the integration of the colonists.

The Worship Community

612 The Makassarese related group was defined as a group of
769 relatives whose members worship their ancestors at places and times designated for this purpose.

Participation in ancestor worship is linked to kinship. For instance, one whose grandparents were not related to each other, and whose two pairs of grandparents were not related to each other either, belongs to four different groups of relatives and may participate in the ancestor worship of all four different groups. In practice, an individual participates primarily in the worship of the group with which he lives. But he may also share in that of his kinsmen, even if he does not have daily contact with them. His choice in this is [551] determined to a great degree by the social standing of these kinsmen. There is a demonstrable preference among people to turn to the prominent members of the related group in ritual matters.

769 Here we will first describe the most significant aspects of the ritual. Subsequently, we will make comparisons with the ornament ritual.

Essentials of the Ritual

In spite of local differences and despite personal viewpoints of the person carrying out the ritual, the pinati (1), there is

1. See pp. 82, 83.

a high degree of uniformity in the ritual prescriptions. A number of elements are to be found everywhere, such as rice, oil, incense, and water. Some actions /62/ are carried

557 /83 cont./ A certain equality of marriage partners is
581 assumed. One who has gone up in standing through personal qualities and who on the basis of this is able to marry off one of his children to a member of a group that is actually regarded as a little higher has attained the highest goal. It becomes apparent to everyone that through this marriage he has risen in standing. The standing that he has thus built up is, as it were, fixed by this circumstance. In a later social evaluation of his children, his achievement is used as a basis of judgment. His kinsmen honor in him the man who has raised the standing of their group, for as kinsmen they are, and remain in principle, his equals and thus rise with him. Compared with other
[585] festivals of the Makassarese, wedding feasts are the most valuable in view of the economic capacity of the group. More than any others, they are the gauge of social standing.

584 The choice of a marriage partner is an affair which cannot
557 be left to the young people themselves. It is a matter for the elders and, preferably, the prominent elders of the group of relatives. They look for what they consider the best solution; they weigh and balance the possibilities, and through their collaboration the marriages finally come about. In all this, a certain marriage policy is apparent.

In the marriage policy of the elders, two opposing
557 tendencies are to be found. On the one hand, there exists
581 the striving for a closely cohesive related group whose members
612 marry each other as much as is possible. On the other hand, there is the striving to establish relations with members of other groups of relatives, preferably those who rank just a little higher. A successful policy is achieved by the person who is able to realize his aim in both directions and who, at the same time, /84/ is able to bring about harmony between the two. Those who constitute the average in the group of relatives as regards their social standing, soon satisfy themselves with the first-mentioned aim. The prominent members of the group tend, rather, to direct their interests outside their own group.

557 581 612 /84 cont./ The marriage policy of the elders is, therefore, to be regarded as a part of their striving toward raising the standing of the group. As an example we shall here give the policy conducted by the adat community head of Borongloë in bringing about the seven marriages of his children solemnized between 1938 and 1948. The marriage policy is never formulated in this form. Those who conduct it are not conscious of it. They merely do what seems best to them in given circumstances.

The adat community head himself was married to a daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community, situated outside the kingdom of Goa. His eldest son was the first to be married, to a girl from this group of relatives, a sixth-degree cousin. The already existing tie with his wife's kin group was thereby strengthened.

His second son was married to the daughter of a well-known tradesman, a hadji, from Macassar, a business contact and at the same time an old friend with whom he had made an agreement at an early age to have their children marry later. When this marriage appeared to be rather unsuccessful after a number of years, it was dissolved. A new marriage was subsequently contracted with the daughter of the head of a neighboring adat community. In this case a member of the Self-government of Goa gave his cooperation.

The third son, who was employed as a provincial official in Buginese country, married there after his own choice. Such an alternative will be described later.

The fourth, as a favor to his father, had been taken, as a young man into his house by a member of the Self-government of the kingdom of Goa, who had subsequently arranged a marriage with the daughter of one of his other favorites, a wealthy Buginese merchant. The father had, in effect, given this son to the member of the Goa Self-government. He had no further influence on the latter's choice of a marriage partner.

557 /84 cont./ The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
612 be made.

1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
554 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising
557
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583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.
[622]

554 /92 cont./ leeway which opens up the opportunity for indicating
583 nuances, so important to the Makassarese. Even among kins-
602 men differences of /social/ level exist. "Manna samposikali kapattauanga sisala" ("even though they are first cousins, their status is different"), is said of the children of a pair of brothers who married women of different status or of the children of a pair of half-brothers who had the same father but mothers of different blood. In such cases conflict cannot be avoided.
554 When a son of the lower of the two women made a request on
581 behalf of his son to his half-brother, regarding the latter's
584 daughter, he was refused. The girl's mother gave as the reason
578 the fact that she had nursed her aspirant son-in-law. Con-
602 sidering the existing kin relationship, this may very well be possible, but it did not prevent the other party from being angry because the real reasons for the refusal were very well understood.

554 Descent and personal qualities within the /93/ group of
578 relatives lead to an endogamy of the prominent members of
602 this group. Within the circle of kinsmen, the marriage candidates are therefore also limited. This fact is not admitted to others; instead the emphasis is then just placed upon the large number of kinsmen and upon their -- in principle -- mutual equality. The striving to rise, which entails a certain striving for exclusiveness, is not readily mentioned. The other kinsmen who in their striving to rise apparently remained behind accuse the individual who assumes airs of exclusiveness that he no longer wants to recognize his kin group, and everybody gives way to this. One of the things which the kinsmen of a woman who marries a higher man appreciate most in her is that she continues to visit and receive her kinsmen without showing superiority.

582 A certain secrecy is always maintained concerning marriage
583 possibilities. In investigating the amount of the sunrang,
557 information is given only hesitantly (1). These two experiences
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583 /93 cont./ 1. Not, if one asks this
557 information of the Prince.
602 He gives the list as it is
fixed by him. But
lower people are less positive.

can only be understood on the basis of the conflict of tendencies indicated above. The amount of the sunrang is never completely fixed. A small increase is always possible, so people do not like to be rigid about certain marriage possibilities within the group of relatives. There are, to be sure, always kinsmen with whom a closer tie is not desired at that moment. [554] Where people proudly point to their extensive kin group, this does not signify mutual equality of the members, but it is a sign of social standing, and people do like to talk about that.

582 In the previous chapter it became apparent that marriages between kinsmen of the eighth degree occur regularly, and
602 those between relatives of the tenth degree, very rarely. There is, therefore, a point at which the knowledge of the kin relationship has disappeared, namely, when for three successive generations no marriages have been contracted between the descendants of two brothers and/or sisters. If this fact is considered in relation to the preference for endogamy among the prominently placed kinsmen, then one can see how it is possible that some gradually drop from the circle of those known as kinsmen, through the lack of desired personal qualities or through a poorly executed marriage policy. /94/ If someone likes a kinsman of the sixth degree, and both of them allow their children to marry, this ties remote lines together, and the striving for a cohesive group of kinsmen has then been realized. But if such a marriage (between eighth-degree male and female cousins) does not come about, this means that a small number of individuals come to be separated from this large group and are either absorbed into another group or else continue to lead their own life as a small group. In the

554 565 576 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides in the house of her father's master may learn to make little cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social intercourse observed among household members and at daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other children. "She bears the sign of daëng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daëng X, literally, "the etiquette of nurture by daëng X."

582 557 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of daëng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives and borrowed from the karëng's kin group in whose house the father had lived in his early years. The custom was then taught to the son. The father laughed happily; "He knows his manners," and by this he meant that his son had appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher. It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing. If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

[675] There is never a question of a firm agreement at the beginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

178 The tie between a higher person and his people is
557 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
558 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the
571 higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
558 his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's protection and help and at the same time the loss of social standing which the association with the superior casts on him. Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower. Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary. If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relationship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census, they were included among the Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they will continue to come and help at special events such as festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

662 /123 cont./ he can better serve goals for himself, his kin
557 group, and possibly for his country, by not keeping to a cer-
571 tain agreement, he withdraws. One cannot count upon loyalty between equals with respect to the agreements made among them. Loyalty unto death is to be found only between high and low (1).

> 1. Here, too, there are limits. Personal loyalty of a lower toward a higher person is held in esteem. But loyalty on the part of a related group of lower people toward a higher /group/ lasts as long as the former know themselves to be dependent upon the latter, and so long as they do not have a more powerful higher /group/ to which they can turn for help and protection.

Now, if we look a little more closely at a number of opposition phenomena on various levels, it appears that a general direction can be pointed out in spite of confusing differences.

622 The kapalakampong strives to keep his kapalaship for
554 himself and his kinsmen, for the person who has authority over a non-kinsman is higher than that non-kinsman.
602 Furthermore, his kinsmen, at least those within his kampong territory, share in the higher standing which he possesses in this way. With respect to the members of his own group of relatives and with respect to that of other groups residing in his territory, the position of the kapala is different. In his own group he belongs to the prominent men. In that capacity

634 /127 cont./ Karaeng Lembangparang,
643 Aroe Bakara had never the-
652 less obtained some following among them. This following grew gradually and made it possible for him to cause the greatest part of the Goa mountain districts to defect from their Prince."
Eerdmans, p. 398.

These heads, living along the frontiers of the realm, frequently did not so much follow the most powerful of their neighbors, but rather the one who permitted them the greatest freedom of action in their territories. After 1905 the boundaries were also fixed in this area.

In the interior the prince tries to create as powerful a unity as possible in his kingdom by working for unity in his own related group in the first place and, furthermore, by extending as much as possible his influence in the adat communities under his jurisdiction.

The Prince of Goa conducted this policy successfully during the years preceeding the outbreak of the Second World War. In a short period of time he succeeded in having one of his kinsmen appointed as adat community head in two of these adat communities.

602 These two former heads' respective groups of relatives
634 went down in standing through this action. After all, they
558 derived this standing in the very first place from the headship, and now they seemed to have been pushed back into the rank
602 of the ordinary groups of relatives. At this moment they
634 merely endeavored /128/ to surround the new adat community
662 head of karaëng blood as much as possible with their own
557 people, so that they could still remain leaders among the

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/128 cont./ other groups of relatives in their adat communities, even though in this position they merely carried out the commands of the karaëng.

The karaëng, on his part, constantly tried to break through this tie which was, as it were, placed on him, by seeking contact with the prominent members of the other groups. The latter saw in this a chance to occupy a prominent position in the adat community through the karaëng, a position which they had not enjoyed previously. On the other hand, they did not dare to place themselves too much in the foreground in relation to the kin groups of the former heads, taking into account what might happen if the Prince's influence, at present penetrating more deeply, should again diminish.

The adat community heads who had remained in power felt themselves threatened by the Prince's political successes. "We are becoming unimportant," said one of them.

648 In a discussion of the relationship of the prince of Goa to his fellow princes, three different points must be kept in mind. First, territorially speaking we go beyond Goa in such a discussion. The entire Makassarese-Buginese region then becomes the field of investigation. Secondly, due to the fact that a number of events that took place at the courts of the princes were more or less regularly recorded during the last few centuries, we are able to use a number of historical data in this discussion which are unknown to the adat community heads and kampong heads. Thirdly, we must first indicate the position of the Netherlands East India Company and later the Government of the Dutch East Indies with respect to this opposition, which was ultimately intended to capture the hegemony of South Celebes.

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648 If we look at what Eerdmans reports about this, we get the impression that the conduct of the Netherlands East India Company repeatedly brought about a reversal in the power relations existing at that moment, but that this did not produce any alteration in the manner in which the princes

595 606 607 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a [581] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry [554] out his second marriage independently with his "own people." That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content [557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect little support from his relatives, and only consolation from her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally, and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

565 595 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is [537] generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in standing.

853 /208 cont./ amma'daëng (mother daëng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse, the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself. A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

[565]

[582]

582 Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba' assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

[557]

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes. 565 567 178

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status. 696 681 567 626 [684 588]

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set. 557 565 556

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners. 554 531

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the 178 554 342 565 531